695 below will show how a "bad oath" can work directly on the
784 false witness.

784 Divine sanctions enter into other aspects of the
626 Bedouin judicial process and function to maintain social
626 control in al-Qasr. If we can speak of a standard, or
681 minimal sanction, in Bedouin law it would be the dhabiiha and 10 L.E. In any case, however small the offence might be, the litigant found to be in the wrong will have this judgment made against him. But in almost every case "the
[788] party who takes his rights" will refuse the dhabiiha and
[292] 10 L.E. and insist instead upon a ritual three cups of tea. An individual refuses the dhabiiha as an act of brotherhood and thanksgiving that the quarrel has been settled. The Bedouins point out the practical factor that very few men in al-Qasr can afford to part with even one lamb. On the
626 other hand, in more serious cases, such as homicide, which
681 occur in the external sphere of political relations and
682 threaten to disintegrate the political community, the parties
264 involved will actually eat a whole meal together. In this case, the dhabiiha is accepted, for the act of commensality is deemed necessary for reconciliation.

626 But whether or not conflict is concluded by a simple
182 ritual or a large feast, the prevailing mood is one of
771 gratitude that the secular bonds of brotherhood and a pre-ordained sacred order have been maintained. The Bedouin

613 it was impossible to verify the actual facts or to know what exactly
682 happened. But since the parties involved are still alive and since these
683 events are closely related to present-day happenings, the case is still
672 alive in the minds of the parties involved as well as those of outsiders-
558 Naturlaly, each party tries to present the facts in such a way as to
(124) support his own claims. Shei'eb, for example, insists that Hakim had
613 bribed members of bait Asabei' to refuse to pay their share in order to
682 embarrass him and make him appear as unable to perform his duties as
683 Aqila. "Hakim always had his eyes on becoming the Aqila of bait Asabei'," said Shei'eb, "but he had no business becoming the Aqila, so he had to make me look bad to the other Awaqil.... He likes to be looked up to as a big man, but it wouldn't work." While other members of bait Asabei' deny that Hakim had bribed them, they agree with Shei'eb that Hakim is a dishonest man. In fact, Hakim's reputation is so widespread in the area that it has earned him the nickname of "the thief". The nickname was given to him a few years ago when he went to Mecca for a pilgrimage with another fellow tribesman. The latter told the story that while in Mecca Hakim had found a purse with two hundred pounds in it. He was supposed to return the purse to the authorities or it would be considered as stealing if he kept it. Stealing in Mecca is not only a crime but also a great sin which makes the holy trip void for the offender. Hakim told his companion that he had given the purse to the authorities. But later, on their way back from Mecca, the friend found the purse hidden in Hakim's luggage. When the story was known in the area, he was referred to as "the thief". Other accounts of Hakim's dishonesty are told throughout the area, including stories of how he acquired his wealth through stealing

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3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

The mere physical achievement of the man was remarkable. He had studied assiduously since he was a small boy in the Koranic school of his home and in other schools of North Africa and Arabia, and was still acquiring and sifting knowledge in his library at Jaghbub up to his death. He had taught in the schools in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, Egypt, the Hijaz, and the Yaman. Months of his life had been spent in travelling by the slow camel caravans of those days. He had thrice made the pilgrimage to Mecca. In spite of these activities he had found time to write a number of treatises. He had started his career as the head of a new missionary Order late in life—he was about 50 years of age when he founded his first zawiya in Arabia, and in the next twenty years he had made the Sanusiya the dominant Order in western Arabia and in North Africa from the Nile Valley to the borders of Tunisia and from the Mediterranean to the Sahara. When he died it was still intensifying its activities in the areas where it was already dominant, building everywhere new lodges, and was still expanding, mainly into the Sahara and the Sudan.

IV

When the Grand Sanusi died his two surviving sons, al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Mahdi and al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Sharif, were minors, so a regency of ten Shaikhs was appointed to control the affairs of the Order till the elder, Muhammad al-Mahdi, was old enough to take over their direction. When he did so he dealt primarily with the general affairs of the Order, leaving religious instruction in the hands of his brother.

The Grand Sanusi had been typical of the great itinerant teachers of his day: international in outlook and intent on the pursuit of holiness and learning rather than guided by secular distractions and ambitions. Mecca was the centre of his world and to it he tended always to gravitate. The Sayyid al-Mahdi was more definitely a Cyrenaican. Born in 1844 in a cave at Massa, near the Cyrenaican Mother Lodge of al-Baida, he was brought up among the religious families of the country and among the Bedouin. He studied under his father, the erudite Moroccan Sidi Ahmad al-Rifi, Sidi 'Ali bin 'abd al-Maula, Sidi 'Umran bin Baraka, and others of his father's circle of pupil-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 21]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

the east began in the middle of the thirteenth century and has lasted to the present day. It is intimately bound up with the pilgrimage to the sacred towns of Islam. Round these pious men and round their tombs gathered for sanctuary the simple and oppressed, and from these and from the children of the holy men have sprung the *Marabtin bil baraka* tribes. The other client tribes have no sacred associations and are known as *Marabtin al-sadqan* because they pay *sadaqa*, a fee, to a free tribe for protection and for the privilege of using the earth and water. Some small broken-up fragments of this category on the plateau, such as the 'Awwama, Alauna, Hasanna, and some of the Qat'an and Sa'it, even to-day have a very inferior social position and are forced to make payments to, and to perform services for, the free tribes among whom they live. Other tribes of this second category live, as already mentioned, on territory which is to all intents and purposes their own and have long since ceased to pay a fee. This is especially the case to the east, in 'Abaidat tribal territory, where such client tribes as the Minifa, Qat'an, Taraki, and Huta live with independent status. In the west also the Fawakhir and Zuwaya are too powerful and warlike to accept overlordship. Also, the more nomadic groups in Cyrenaica are mostly client tribes and, like all nomads, resent any control or authority. Whatever the free tribes may say about them, they regard themselves as independent.

The provenance of the *Sa'adi* tribes and of some of the *Marabtin* tribes is shown together with the distribution of the Sanusiya lodges on the map facing page **35**, and the approximate numbers of these tribes, and of a few others not shown on the map, are listed below.

Sa'adi	
al-'Abaidat	30,450
al-'Awaqir	27,500
al-Bara'asa	21,000
al-Darsa	18,850
al-Magharba	13,000
al-'Arafa	9,300
al-'Abid	6,850
al-Hasa	6,500
'Ailat Fayid	100
Marabtin	
al-Qat'an	5,850
al-'Awwama	3,800
al-Zuwaya	3,700
al-Shwa'ir	3,400
al-Fawakhir	3,300
al-Sa'it	2,900
al-Majabra	2,500
al-Minifa	2,500
al-Masamir	2,400
al-Awajila	2,300
Aulad al-Shaikh	1,650
al-'Aqail	1,400
al-Shahaibat	1,350
al-Sarahna	1,250
al-Qabail	1,150
al-Huta	1,150

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

days on which kin of various sorts should attend the mourning ceremonies, which extend over a period of a week. Allowance is made for those who may be away temporarily, although they are expected to hasten to the mourning camp as quickly as possible. Agnatic kin are expected not only to be present on the appropriate day, but are required to offer gifts consistent with their relationship to the bereaved; agnates of the tertiary segment are expected to offer a sheep, while some cognates ought to bring a goat and others a quantity of sugar and tea. At one funeral in a camp where I was resident, soon after the death occurred, the main concern of its inhabitants was whether or not certain men of their section would attend the mourning rites and bring appropriate gifts with them. These men lived at the time in another camp a few miles away, as they had been doing for several years past. They did not come when they were expected, and when they finally arrived at the end of the week they brought with them gifts of sugar and tea only—gifts which were totally inappropriate for agnates of the group. They were, in fact, now no longer members of it, and my neighbours were able to tell me, 'They have branched off from us. We will never live together again.' The lineage had proliferated and this was the first occasion for showing it.

Wide-spread in Cyrenaica is a cult of saints. The number of saints' tombs varies from tribe to tribe, there being fewer among the camel herders of the semi-desert than among the cow-herding, almost sedentary, folk of the plateau area. Whatever the number, the members of the group that venerates a particular saint make an annual pilgrimage to his tomb, and sometimes more frequent pilgrimages are made. In one area there were two men, accepted by their respective kin groups as leaders, who vied against each other for the leadership of their section. One of them had been a famous warrior during the Italian wars and, after being injured, fled to Egypt where he lived for seventeen years, until he returned to his homeland in 1947. The other had also fought against the Italians, failed to win renown, was a captive for a time, later released, and subsequently appointed leader of his section by the Italian authorities. The first, during his period of exile, had become impoverished. The second during his years of freedom had prospered. As far as their personalities

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

794 were concerned, there was little doubt who was leader—the
554 name of the former was known throughout the land. Now when
794 the warrior returned from his Egyptian exile, his rival offered
554 him a sheep as a gift. This act was wholly appropriate. Subse-
578 quently they continued to compete fiercely, but it soon became clear that the returned warrior was winning the greater support.
[788] In the face of this, the rival, in 1948, decided to break with tradi-
[175] tion by staying away from the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of the local saint. Instead, he and his followers made their pilgrimage to a different tomb in the vicinity of their camp, and later built a low wall round the tomb, whitewashed it, and made it known that henceforward they would regularly use it for pilgrim-
[613] ages. The two kinship groups of a tertiary section now had their
[788] separate saint's tomb. Some months later, the rival decided to
794 move with his small group to an area in which they had not pre-
554 viously resided. It is the custom among the Bedouin when they
578 pitch their tents in a place for the first time, that the people of the neighbourhood should bring them gifts to mark the event.
431 The returned warrior, who had now become a close neighbour
[166] of his rival was obliged, like others, to offer the latter a gift; he was also obliged to return the gift of a sheep that he had been given on rejoining his section in 1947. He brought a gift within a few hours of his rival's arrival, but it was a goat.[14] The rival and his followers were furious, and the argument that the warrior was too poor to give more was dismissed summarily. This was the final insult. The donor, in return, had been given less than he had presented. The reciprocity of gift exchanges had not only been arrested, it had been reversed. From then onwards the two groups made no attempt to conceal their hostility and went their separate ways.

613 Disputes stemming from circumstances such as these are the
578 occasions which mark the proliferation of groups, although in all three cases cited, difficulties over water supplies had preceded the outbreaks of quarrelling.

613 In this discussion of the ways in which proliferation of seg-
602 ments takes place, the emphasis had been put on the tug of war
121 between the interests of people in their agnatic connexions and

[14] A goat is inferior to a sheep in gift exchanges.

Cases

584 Prior to the wedding festivities, the
593 father will have participated in negotiations, although even in these he will have remained silent, leaving an affine, as a rule, to arrange the details with the girl's father and his kinsmen. The father feigns aloofness from the start of negotiations until after the wedding celebrations have ended. Before inquiring into this seemingly odd behaviour, a few further details of marriage ceremonies need to be mentioned briefly.

585 The bride is carried to the nuptial tent on a camel, seated in a cagelike
342 structure placed on the camel's back, this canopy covered over with carpets
[492] and at least one long blanket — later to be used to divide her tent into male and female quarters — which constitute part of the goods given to a woman
• [788] on marriage. On her arrival, while she is still seated in her canopy, the camel is led round the tent seven times by a small boy. She then descends and is hustled into the tent by a number of women who make a show of their attempts to conceal her from view. Inside the tent the bride is enclosed in one corner in a kind of cubicle partitioned off by a length of blanket.

585 In the meantime, the groom has affected to escape, but is "caught," while
[533] running away, by his fellows, who "compel" him to return to the nuptial tent,
[831] to the accompaniment of their lewd songs telling of the sexual pleasures awaiting him. Much of this is horseplay, but the young men carry it out brazenly and the groom is required to show reluctance to continue with the ceremonies. His entry into the nuptial tent is marked by an expectant hush that falls over the crowd of men gathered, as they await the result of the virginity test the groom is about to perform, which he does by wrapping part of his toga round one of his fingers to pierce the hymen. Sharp shrieks from
[202] the bride give the signal that the test has been undertaken; not a stir moves the crowd until evidence of its success has been publicly displayed, which is given by the groom hoisting the blood-stained portion of the toga through the corner of the tent on a pole, followed by firing three shots from his rifle. Jubilantly, the men gathered fire volley after volley from their rifles just over the nuptial tent, and the seven-day celebrations begin.

585 A full descriptive account of a marriage, or many of the ritual details
589 woven into it need not be given here. What is included is intended to illus-
[593] trate certain relationships between father and son, and between one
[561] generation and another. In this connection two further points are appropriate. First, during the week of festival, young men gather outside the nuptial
[535] tent each night to encourage a maiden in her dancing, clapping their hands
[533] to the point of injury "so that we will have a wife soon." The celebrations belong to the bachelors, and they are the only ones to engage in the singing and hand clapping. It is they too who stop the bridal camel on its way to
[538] the nuptial tent to recite obscene rhymes to the bride, and they also shout
[831] their rather dubious consolations to the bride who, during the virginity test, crying out for her mother, is assured by them that the night holds promise
585 for her which her mother could never extend. The married men, particularly
602 the close senior agnates of the groom, stay away from it all, discussing mat-
521 ters unconnected with the affair.